# Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT PO

SUBJ: NOBRE DA COSTA PRESENTS GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

## 1. SUMMARY

PRIME MINISTER NOBRE DA COSTA ON SEPTEMBER 7 PRESENTED HIS 411-PAGE "PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT" TO THE ASSEMBLY. HE SUMMARIZED ITS MAJOR POINTS ORALLY, THEN TOOK QUESTIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM THE PARTIES. THIS MESSAGE GIVES OUR FIRST IMPRESSIONS. HE SAID THE RIGHT KINDS OF THINGS, ACCEPTING PORTUGAL'S COMMITMENTS IN ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF, REAFFIRMING THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN A DEMOCRACY, AND SUGGESTING THAT HE WILL PREPARE THE WAY FOR A SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT WITH A STABLE ASSEMBLY MAJORITY. END SUMMARY

#### 2. CALENDAR

THE PROGRAM WILL BE VOTED ON BY THE ASSEMBLY WITHIN FIVE WORKING DAYS. WE MAY THUS KNOW ASSENBLY VERDICT LATE NEXT WEEK.PREVAILING OPINION IS THAT THE PROGRAM WILL PASS, BUT POSSIBLY WITH THE EMBARRASSMENT OF HAVING MORE VOTES AGAINST IT THAN FOR IT. (ARTICLE 195 OF CONSITUTION PROVIDES THAT A GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM CAN BE REJECTED ONLY BY "AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY ENTITLED TO VOTE.") THERE IS AN OUTSIDE CHANCE THAT THE CDS WILL SUPPORT A PS MOTION OF REJECTION, PROVIDING THE NECESSARY MAJORITY.

#### 3. OVERVIEW

FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST INTERESTING POINTS OF NOBRE DA COSTA'S PRESENTATION. OUR COMMENTS ARE BASED ON HIS LENGTHY ORAL REMARKS RATHER THAN ON A DETAILED STUDY OF THE WRITTEN PROGRAM.

A. THE NEW PRIME MINISTER MADE A POINT OF EXPRESSING RESPECT FOR THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES. HE RECOGNIZED THAT HIS LACK OF EXPLICIT PARTY SUPPORT MAKES HIS GOVERNMENT VERY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF HIS PREDECESSORS. SINCE HE WOULD NOT ENJOY DIRECT PARTY SUPPORT, HE WOULD START HIS TERM OF OFFICE WITH A COMMITMENT TO WORK PROMPTLY ON "MATERIAL CONDITIONS TO FACILITATE" THE GOVERNMENT'S CONFIDENTIAL.

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"OWN REPLACEMENT." IN OTHER WORDS, HE WOULD TRY TO MAKE HIS SUCCESSION EASY. GIVEN THIS STATEMENT, WE SUPPOSE THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR NOBRE DA COSTA TO AVOID RESIGNING IF THE PARTIES SHOULD REACH AGREEMENT ON A NEW MAJORITY GOVERNMENT.

B. NOBRE DA COSTA MADE A GOOD PERSONAL IMPRESSION. HE HAD MASTERED HIS BRIEF AND WAS A FLUENT, SOMETIMES EVEN HUMOROUS, SPEAKER.

C. HE EMPHASIZED EFFICIENCY, NOT INNOVATION. THIS MADE THE BEST OF HIS HANDICAP: HE COULD HARDLY HAVE PROMISED INNOVATION GIVEN HIS LACK OF PARTY SUPPORT.

D. HE DID NOT CITE ANY MAJOR CHANGES FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT IN THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS.

E. REPLYING TO A QUESTION FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
NOBRE DA COSTA SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT ALTER "THE PAUSE IN
THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM" ANNOUNCED BY MARIO SOARES. THIS
REFERRED TO SOARES'S PROGRAM WHEN FORMING A COALITION WITH

THE CDS IN FEBRUARY (LISBON 0927). IN EFFECT, NOBRE DA COSTA PROMISED CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT IN TERMS CALCULATED TO MAKE SOCIALIST OBJECTIONS SOUND HOLLOW.

F. THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD, HE SAID, MAINTAIN PORTUGAL'S EUROPEAN VOCATION, INCLUDING

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MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND THE EC. IT WOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE RELATIONS WITH PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING AFRICA.

G. NOBRE DA COSTA POLITELY NOTED THAT, IF HIS PROGRAM WERE APPROVED (I.E. NOT REJECTED) BY THE ASSEMBLY, HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE MORE THAN JUST A CARETAKER BECAUSE PORTUGAL'S PROBLEMS ARE TOO SEVERE AND PRESSING TO

TOLERATE A CARETAKER APPROACH. HE WOULD CONSIDER HIMSELF CONFIDENTIAL

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A SHORT-TERM CARETAKER ONLY IF HIS PROGRAM WERE REJECTED. (HE UNCONVINCINGLY IMPLIED THAT FAILURE TO REJECT IS THE SAME AS A POSITIVE VOTE OF APPROVAL.)

4. ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES.

#### A. THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM

THE NOBRE DA COSTA GOVERNMENT PROMISES TO PURSUE RIGOROUS IMPLEMENTATION OF CURRENT STABILIZATION PROGRAM BECAUSE:

- -- IT IS A BINDING GOP COMMITMENT TO THE IMF;
- -- MEASURES AGREED TO ARE IN ANY CASE NECESSARY TO REDUCE EXTERNAL DEFICIT, IMF AGREEMENT NOTWITHSTANDING, AND THE GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES EXTERNAL DEFICIT AS THE ECONOMY'S MOST SERIOUS CONSTRAINT:
- -- NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF CURRENT STABILIZATION PROGRAM WOULD SERIOUSLY IMPAIR PORTUGAL'S IMAGE ABROAD, WOULD DRY UP POTENTIAL SOURCES OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES, AND ONLY FORCE EVEN MORE ONEROUS MEASURES LATER.

  NONETHLESS, THE PROGRAM ANTICIPATES POSSIBLE RELAXATION OF SOME PRESENT STABILIZATION POLICIES IF CONSTRAINTS, PARTICULARLY EXTERNAL DEFICIT AND INFLATION, EASE. GOP WILL EXAMINE THOSE POSSIBILITIES IN CONTEXT OF THE IMF-GOP MEETING SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY, 1979. (NOTE: THIS DOES NOT AFFECT THE INFORMAL IMF-GOP REVIEW STILL SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER.)
- 5. SPECIFIC POLICIES.

#### A. CREDIT

PRESENT CREDIT POLICIES, INCLUDING CREDIT CEILINGS FOR INDIVIDUAL BANKING INSTITUTIONS WILL GENERALLY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL

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IN PLACE FOR DURATION OF PRESENT STABILIZATION PROGRAM. CERTAIN ADJUSTMENTS MAY, HOWEVER, BE INTRODUCED TO MAKE THE USE OF AVAILABLE CREDIT MORE EFFICIENT IN TERMS OF OTHER OBJECTIVES, E.G., STIMULATING PRODUCTIVE, EXPORTORIENTED INVESTMENT, EMPLOYMENT, AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY.

B. INTEREST RATES

WILL BE KEPT AT CURRENT LEVELS AT LEAST THROUGH DECEMBER 31. SUBSEQUENT REVISIONS, IF ANY, WILL BE CONDITIONED ON SUCCESS IN REDUCING THE INFLATION RATE AND ON EXCHANGE RATE MOVEMENTS. OBJECTIVE OF ANY MODIFICATION WILL BE TO DISCOURAGE CAPITAL FLIGHT AND ENCOURAGE PRIVATE DOMESTIC SAVING.

C. EXCHANGE RATE

ESCUDO'S DOWNWARD CRAWL MAY BE SLOWED AFTER DECEMBER 31, DEPENDING ON OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, NOTABLY THE

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INFLATION RATE.

D. EC.

THE GOP WILL SEEK TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH EC. EVEN WHILE NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESS, GOP WILL SEEK TO ALIGN INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER POLICIES TO EC-WIDE CONDITIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE TEXTILE AND STEEL SECTORS. CONFIDENTIAL

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(NOTE: WE WILL SEEK CLARIFICATION OF THIS POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO INVESTMENT GOALS.) THE GOP ALSO WILL PROPOSE SPECIFIC PROJECTS SUITABLE FOR EC FINANCING EVEN WHILE NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESS.

#### E. INCOMES/PRICES

AVERAGE RATE OF WAGE INCREASES SHOULD BE EQUAL TO INFLATION RATE. (COMMENT: A BOW TO LABOR, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF PREVIOUS GOP EFFORTS UNDER THE SOCIALISTS TO HOLD WAGE INCREASES SUBSTANTIALLY BELOW THE RATE OF INFLATION.) SPECIAL MEASURES TO PROTEC LOWEST INCOME GROUPS WILL BE PURSUED, INCLUDING CONTINUATION OF SUBSIDIZED MARKET BASKET. PRICE POLICIES WILL GENERALLY ALLOW FOR COVERING REAL PRODUCTION COSTS; MARKET DISTORTIONS WILL BE AVOIDED TO EXTENT POSSIBLE.

### F. FISCAL POLICY.

CURRENT OPERATIONS SHOULD SHOW A MODEST SURPLUS NEXT YEAR, IMPLYING A DECLINE IN REAL OUTLAYS. THE DEFICIT WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH DOMSTIC CREDIT CONSTRAINTS.

G. COMPENSATION FOR NATIONALIZED PROPERTIES.

THE GOP WILL ADOPT REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT THE COMPENSATION LAW ON PRIORITY BASIS.

H. MEDIUM TERM PLAN.

NOBRE DA COSTA GOVERNMENT WILL NOT DRAFT MEDIUM-TERM PLAN UNLESS IT PASSES A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. IN ANY CASE, PRELIMINARY STUDIES FOR A MEDIUM-TERM PLAN WILL REQUIRE CONFIDENTIAL

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SEVERAL MONTHS.

#### 6. COMMENT.

OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION OF THE NOBRE DA COSTA GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM IS THAT IS IS A MORE THOROUGH, MORE CAREFULLY CONCEIVED DOCUMENT THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO SPELLING OUT ECONOMIC POLICIES. WHILE IT CONTINUES, ON THE WHOLE, POLICIES INITIATED BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, IT APPEARS TO INTRODUCE CERTAIN TENDENCIES THAT BEAR CAREFUL SCRUTINY. MOST NOTABLE ARE THE EMPHASIS GIVEN TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR ENTERPRISES AND THE IMPLIED INTENTION TO STIMULATE GROWTH. WE WILL ADDRESS THESE AND OTHER ISSUES SEPTEL ONCE WE HAVE HAD MORE TIME TO DIGEST THIS 411 PAGE DOCUMENT. ROWELL

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